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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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SOURCE:

Ernesto Guevara made the following comments during the anniversary celebrations in Habana, January 1963:

- a. The Cuban Government is not in disagreement with the decision made by the Soviet Government to return Soviet rockets to the USSR. What we are in disagreement with is the fact that the Soviet Government did not consult the Cuban Government before withdrawing the missiles and weapons. The decision on the part of the Soviets overlooked the dignity of the Cuban people. Cuba is a free nation which respects international treaties and agreements. This is what later made us resentful about the decision.
- b. In Latin America objective conditions exist for the Socialist revolution, but subjective conditions do not exist.² The revolution in Venezuela, which Cuba follows with great interest, is an example of the fight of the vanguard; and when the time is right we will lend our aid to the vanguard so they will triumph. The objective condition which exists in Venezuela today is the investment of the imperialists. North American imperialists have a total of seven billion dollars invested in Latin America, fifty-six per cent of which is in Venezuela. The imperialist oil companies withdraw three million gallons of oil a day and have a contract for ninety years. Of the eighty per cent of oil lands they have under contract, they have exploited only fifteen per cent.
- c. For the moment, the case of Algeria is not sufficiently clear to us to judge and give an opinion as a government. However, I can tell you that Ben Bella and his revolution are identified profoundly with the government of the Cuban

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revolution. He appears to be trying to unify all the progressive sectors for the revolution, something like the united party of the revolution here, always having the Marxist/Leninist line as his guide.

- d. The Socialist revolution in Central America has no other course than a well organized and coordinated armed fight. I say this because in reality we know of no case where the Socialist revolution has triumphed by peaceful means. It is said that in 1964 Socialism will triumph by peaceful means in Chile; this will be the first case in history.³
- e. With modesty I can tell you that my book, Guerrilla Warfare, continues to be a guide book for the revolutionary movements. It has basic and elemental plans gained from experience. I wish to emphasize that the capacity the imperialists have to fight revolutionary activities must be understood right now. Now that they have failed in Cuba, they have strengthened their strategic and tactical methods of combat. In Latin America the imperialists are organizing corps of guerrillas for the anti-revolutionary fight, which are well trained and armed with modern equipment. You have to know this detail. It is very important. The revolution in Latin America will be difficult and crueler, will cost more lives and more blood; but it is certain no one can stop it. In closing I wish to tell you that fascist forces are being organized in Peru and Argentina to stop the popular movements which support the revolutionary fight being waged on all fronts, as in South Viet Nam, Venezuela, and other countries.
- f. At this time we do not know if the movement in Nicaragua is a revolutionary movement. I wish to say that the movement is not characteristic of Socialism and has the earmarks of being conducted by adventurous persons. However, we are watching it with great attention, but we know that the movement is not founded in the people.
- g. The Mexican Government is a friendly government even though from time to time, at the insistence of the United States, it adopts positions contrary to the interests of Cuba. The Cuban Government would regret deeply if the Mexican Government should break relations with Cuba; but we should be prepared to accept this course of action if the United States places too much pressure on Mexico for this action.

Comments

1. [redacted] said that a great problem existed in Cuba when the Soviets withdrew their rockets. This problem concerned those in favor of the Soviet action and those who are in favor of following the Chinese approach to achieving Socialism. However, by diligent work the Soviet position triumphed.
2. According to Guevara, objective conditions are those conditions present in a country which may be used by the revolutionaries as their battle cry to the people. Subjective conditions are those conditions which Socialist leaders must create to cause people to react in the desired manner to overthrow the objective conditions.
3. Guevara appeared skeptical of the success of a peaceful Socialist revolution in Chile and indicated that the revolution in that country must be ready to fight if they should lose the elections.